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A Memorial to
Benjamin Lundy, a Pioneer
Quaker Abolitionist, 1789-1839.
by Lundy Memorial Committee.

(1939)

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BENJAMIN LUNDY

PIONEER QUAKER ABOLITIONIST

1789 1839

A Memorial

To

BENJAMIN LUNDY

Pioneer Quaker Abolitionist

1789-1839

COMPILED BY

THE LUNDY MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

OF

THE JOHN SWANEY SCHOOL ALUMNI

AND SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

On the Occasion of the

CENTENNIAL OF HIS DEATH

1939

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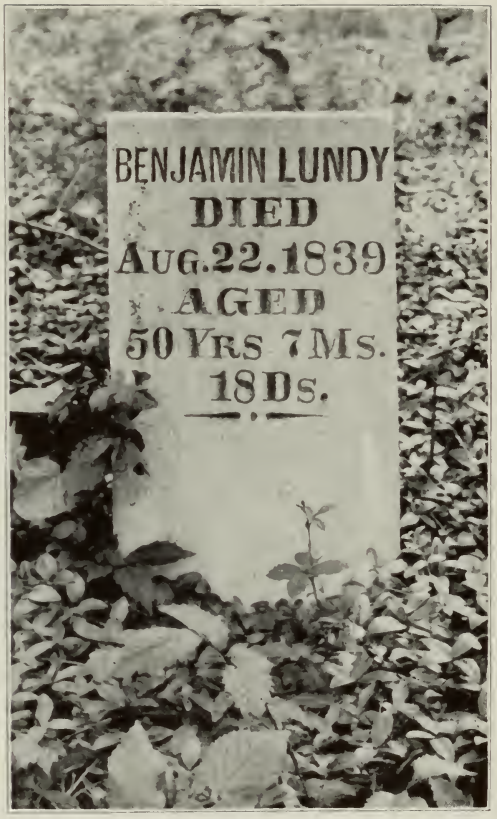
Benjamin Lundy



The Original Marble Headstone
Which Marks His Grave

Friend's Cemetery, McNabb, Illinois

BIOGRAPHY

Benjamin Lundy — 1789-1839

Born in Hardwick, Sussex County, New Jersey, January 4, 1789.

Died in Lowell, LaSalle County, Illinois, August 22, 1839.

Only child of Joseph Lundy and Elizabeth Shotwell; of Thos. Lundy and Joanne Doan; of Richard Lundy II and Elizabeth Large.

Married Esther Lewis of Mt. Pleasant, Ohio.

1808—Resided in Wheeling, West Virginia eighteen months as apprentice at the saddlery trade, and first became interested in the wrongs of slavery. From Wheeling he went to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, remaining several years, married Esther Lewis and set up his own business at St. Clairsville, Ohio.

1815—Organized first abolition society.

1816—Began publishing anti-slavery articles.

LUNDY ADVOCATED:

1. That societies should be formed wherever a sufficient number of persons could be induced to join them.
2. That a title should be adopted common to all societies.
3. That they should all have a uniform constitution.
4. That a correspondence should be kept up between societies, cooperate in action, and choose delegates to meet in general convention.

This plan is practically the same as that which operated twenty years afterward when it embraced nearly one thousand societies.

1819—Found him in St. Louis working hard on the Missouri question.

1821—Again returned to Mt. Pleasant and in January published the first issue of his newspaper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation" — as an organ for the abolition societies which had sprung up in various localities.

1821—Removed to Greeneville, Tennessee, where "The Genius" was published.

1823—Rode 600 miles on horseback to Philadelphia where he first met abolitionists east of the Allegheny Mountains.

1824—Walked on a speaking and organizing tour through West Virginia, Virginia and North Carolina, making his first address at Deep Creek, Friends' Meeting House in North Carolina.

1824—October, established his office in Baltimore. No. 1, Volume 4 of "The Genius" was issued.

Brought his family thither.

1825—Visited the Island of Haiti in the interest of negro colonization.

1826—Wife died leaving five small children.

Placed his children with his relatives and friends and renewed his vow to devote the rest of his life to the cause of the slave.

1828—Made a journey to middle and eastern states to arouse sentiment, organize societies and get subscribers for "The Genius."

Called the first meeting in America to consider the use of free-labor products.

Became the inspirer and teacher of William Lloyd Garrison.

1828—November, a second journey to New England.

1829—Another journey to Haiti.

William Lloyd Garrison joined him in Baltimore and helped edit "The Genius."

1830—Garrison moved to New York and established "The Liberator."

Lundy moved to Washington.

1830-'32—Travelled a great deal, visiting both Canada and Texas in the interest of colonization.

1833—To Texas again.

1835—Third visit to Texas.

1836—Lundy commenced a second anti-slavery paper in Philadelphia, "The National Enquirer" published weekly.

1838—March, Lundy retired from the "Enquirer" in favor of John Greenleaf Whittier, preparatory to removing to Illinois.

May, Pennsylvania Hall, where all Lundy's possessions and valuable papers were stored, burned by mob.

1838—September, arrived in Hennepin, Illinois.

1839—February, established his family and printing office at Lowell, LaSalle County, Illinois.

1839—August, ill with fever, passed away August 22.

Burial, August 24, Friends' Burying Ground, on Clear Creek, Putnam County, Illinois.

CHILDREN:

Susanna Maria—1815-1899. Married William Wierman. Buried at Clear Creek.

Elizabeth Shotwell — 1818-1879. Married Isaac Griffith. Buried in Jackson County, Missouri.

Charles Tallmadge — 1821-1858. Married Ellen Mears. Buried at Clear Creek.

Esther — 1826-1846. Buried at Clear Creek.

Benjamin Clarkson — 1826-1861. Married Catherine M. Haines. Buried at Magnolia, Illinois.

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BENJAMIN LUNDY, ABOLITIONIST 1789-1839

A sketch prepared on the occasion of the centenary of his death

By

Fred Landon,

Librarian of the University of Western Ontario.

BENJAMIN LUNDY was born in Sussex County, New Jersey, on January 4, 1789, and died in LaSalle County, Illinois, on August 22, 1839. Between those dates lies the record of a man whose great humanity, simplicity of conduct, and love of his fellow men must rank him as one of the great Christians of the nineteenth century. At the end of his days he could properly have described his life in words used by the Apostle Paul: "In journeyings often, in peril of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." All this he suffered on behalf of the slave who could never even thank him for what he had done.

Lundy's career is of such amazing variety and color, as well as of such importance in the history of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, that it is strange how little attention he has received at the hands of historians. A sketchy biography, published shortly after his death, together with a few brief articles in various journals, comprises the literature. Yet, of this man, Garrison, most militant of the anti-slavery crusaders, who was his disciple, said: "His heart is of a gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power," and late in life added this tribute: "If I have in any way, however humble, done anything towards calling attention to slavery, or bringing out the glorious prospect of a complete Jubilee in our country at no distant date, I feel that I owe everything in the matter, instrumentally under God, to Benjamin Lundy."

Lundy's career, though definitely committed to one great objective, may be approached from various angles. He was one of the earliest among the editors of anti-slavery publications, one of the first to use the public platform for lectures on the slavery question and one of the first to bring about the formation of societies for the encouragement of the produce of free labor. As a traveller, even in a day when the whole population seemed to be on the move, his record was noteworthy. In 1830 he wrote that he had already travelled 5,000 miles on foot and more than 20,000 miles in other ways, including two voyages to Haiti. In the next five years he added to this record three journeys to Texas and other parts of Mexico as well as a journey through the western part of the British province of Upper Canada. Always his purpose was to find some means by which the lot of the slave might be ameliorated.

Of his early life we know but little. His parents, Joseph and Eliza (Shotwell) Lundy were of Quaker stock. The mother died when the boy was but five years of age and his schooling seems to have been almost as limited as that of his great fellow-countryman, Lincoln. Yet, in Lundy, as in Lincoln, there was an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, and in Lundy's case such an ambition to excel that he impaired his health by striving to do work in the harvest field that taxed larger and stronger men. For the rest of his life he suffered from deafness. In appearance he has been described

as of slender form, slightly under middle height, and of sandy complexion and hair. One who met him speaks of his hair and beard as red. His manners were gentle and unassuming and his whole disposition was cheerful and sprightly. His half-sister wrote of him: "Though he left us while I was yet young my recollection of him was always so gentle that I could not bear to hear a word said in disapprobation of him. . . . He was of gentle and mild manners, yet quickly perceptible of the views of others and always prepared to meet them in the way he thought best suited to them."

At the age of nineteen he was seized by the prevailing restlessness of the day and removed to Wheeling, Virginia, where during the next four years he served an apprenticeship at the saddler's trade and worked as a journeyman for eighteen months. This residence at Wheeling was of the highest importance to Lundy's later career for it was there that he first became conscious of the wrongs of slavery. In later years he wrote of this period of his life: "Then did his young heart bound within his bosom and his heated blood boil in his veins, on seeing droves of a dozen or twenty ragged men chained together and driven through the streets, bare-headed and bare-footed, through mud and snow, by the remorseless 'soul-sellers,' with horsewhips and bludgeons in their hands. It was the frequent repetition of such scenes as these in the town of Wheeling, Virginia, that made these durable impressions on his mind relative to the horrors of the slave system, which have induced him to devote himself to the cause of universal emancipation. . . . He was by these and other means made acquainted with the cruelties and the despotism of slavery, as tolerated in this land, and he made a solemn vow to Almighty God, that, if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link of that ponderous chain of oppression, when he should become a man."

Between 1810 and 1820 Lundy was gradually developing his ideas and finding his place in the great task which was to be his life work. For a brief period at Wheeling he was drawn into the prevailing looseness of life but soon gained control of himself, fulfilled his religious duties, and devoted much time to reading. When he left Wheeling, at the end of four years, he went first into Ohio, then to his old home in New Jersey and returning to Ohio, he was married to Esther Lewis. He then settled in St. Clairsville where he prospered and in four years found himself with property worth more than three thousand dollars. Of his situation at this time he could write: "I had then a loving wife and two beautiful little daughters. . . . I was at peace with my neighbors and knew not that I had an enemy; I had bought a lot and built myself a comfortable house; all my wants and those of my lovely family were fully supplied; my business was increasing, and prosperity seemed to smile before me."

Such was his estate when the great crisis of his life came before him. He had lamented the condition of the slave since the apprenticeship days at Wheeling but now came the question, what should he do to aid those in bondage? He began by calling in some of his friends for counsel and the result was the organization in 1815 at St. Clairsville of an anti-slavery association, called the Union Humane Society. This was followed by the publication of a circular addressed to the people of the United States urging the formation of anti-slavery societies wherever people favorable to the cause could be found; that these societies should cooperate in every possible way and that from time to time they should meet in convention to discuss policies and formulate a common program. Here was the germ of the great anti-slavery societies which arose at a later date.

The next important step in Lundy's career came through his association with Charles Osborne in the publication of the *Philanthropist*, then printed at Mount Pleasant, Ohio. At first Lundy merely selected articles for reprinting, then he began to write articles himself and finally was invited by Osborne to join the printing business and take charge of the office. This involved abandoning his own healthy business to embark in a venture that might be regarded as quite doubtful in a material way, but Lundy did not hesitate. He had chosen his course and would follow it to the end. Loading his stock of leather goods upon a boat, and with three of his apprentices accompanying him, he left for St. Louis where he hoped to dispose of his goods to advantage. But

fortune did not favor him. Business was depressed and he arrived in St. Louis late in the fall of 1819 at the very time when the disturbing issues of the Missouri question were to the fore. There is record of an anti-slavery meeting held in Jefferson County, Missouri, on April 22, 1819, at which Lundy was made secretary and was also appointed to a committee to draft an address to the electors of the county. We may surmise, therefore, that he was taking an active part in the controversy then raging over the future status of slavery within the state. He himself tells us that he returned on foot from St. Louis in the winter season, a distance of 700 miles, that he had lost some thousands of dollars and that he was detained from home a year and ten months.

During Lundy's absence from Ohio, Charles Osborne had sold out his printing business and the result was that on Lundy's return from Missouri he found himself without business connection of any kind. He at first considered removing to Illinois but in the end decided to undertake the publication of an anti-slavery journal which should be his own property and in which he could set forth his own views. In January, 1821, there appeared the first number of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, publication of which was to continue intermittently until Lundy's death in 1839. In the initial number Lundy set forth his purpose: "The editor intends that this work shall be a true record of passing events, and of the various transactions relative to the enslavement of the Africans, and he hopes it may eventually prove a faithful history of the final emancipation." On the reverse of the title page were these words: "To the rising generation of the United States of America on whom probably depend the success and prosperity, or the downfall and utter ruin of the republic, this volume of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is most respectfully dedicated by the writer."

The *Genius* is one of the most remarkable newspapers which appeared during the slavery controversy. No library possesses a complete file but the separate portions contained in many libraries enable us to piece together its story. It was published successively in Mount Pleasant, Ohio; Greeneville, Tenn.; Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia, and finally, for a few months during 1838-39 in Lowell, Illinois. But even these designated places of publication, appearing on the title pages, may mislead us for there were times when the printing was done elsewhere. In a brief sketch of Lundy, appearing after his death in the *Friend of Man*, the writer told of Lundy's way of issuing his paper at a time when it was presumably being published at Philadelphia. "Our printer helped him to get out one number in New York," said this writer. "His next was perhaps issued from Hudson, and the next from Rochester and so on. He carried his column rules, imprint, heading, etc. in his trunk along with his mail and direction book — and so with the help of the local printers, all over the state, he furnished his old subscribers, while getting new ones." This will explain why some numbers of the *Genius* are so rarely found in library holdings.

The events of the next four years may be briefly set down. After printing eight issues of his paper in Ohio, Lundy removed to Greeneville, Tenn., where he took over the printing press on which Elihu Embree had formerly printed the *Emancipator.* Here Lundy learned to set type, an accomplishment which he used to advantage on his travels. In Tennessee he found himself in a hostile community and he has recorded that he was often threatened. He remained in the state, however, for three years, bringing his family on from Ohio. There is a letter extant, written by Lundy from Greeneville in September, 1823, addressed to Andrew Jackson, then a candidate for the presidency, in which he inquires from the hero of New Orleans whether or not he is "disposed to use his influence in bringing about a gradual abolition of slavery in every part of the Republic." Jackson's answer to this inquiry has not been preserved. In 1824 Lundy attended the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, held at Philadelphia, and there, for the first time, came in contact with some of the leaders of the movement in the older states. As the *Genius* had now attained a considerable circulation and was the only anti-slavery paper being published in the United States, he decided to remove to Baltimore and accordingly set out for the place on foot in the summer of 1824. On his way he passed through North Carolina where at Deep Creek

he delivered his first lecture on the question of slavery. Later he gave almost a score of such lectures and tells us that before he left the state he had organized more than a dozen anti-slavery societies. Continuing his journey he held meetings and also organized societies in Virginia.

Life in Baltimore was not uneventful for Lundy. The first issue of the *Genius* printed there was No. 1 of Volume IV. Within a year he was able to change it from a monthly to a weekly. He had his own printing office and in 1825 printed a small book, a life of Elisha Tyson, the philanthropist. He was outspoken in his utterances on the subject of the domestic slave trade and criticized one Austin Woodfolk with a harshness which surprises the reader unless he realizes how deeply Lundy's soul had been stirred. He even proposed through his paper that Woodfolk be nominated for a seat in the Senate "to represent the numerous class of citizens engaged in the honorable business of negro-chaining, man-driving and soul-trafficking in this happy land." The outcome of these criticisms was that Lundy was violently assaulted by Woodfolk, an event which was duly chronicled in the *Genius*.

It was during the early portion of his residence in Baltimore that Lundy made his first trip to Haiti. He had become deeply interested in the possibilities of the island as a place to which manumitted slaves might be sent and made it his special mission to find out upon what terms they would be received by the government of the black republic. His return to Baltimore was accompanied by a deep tragedy which he thus describes:

"Being detained much longer than I had anticipated, my views of earthly happiness were clouded before my return, by news of the decease of my loved and cherished bosom companion, which was brought me by a vessel that arrived the day before that on which I was to sail for home.

"I returned to Baltimore with a heavy heart. On our arrival the vessel was ordered to perform quarantine, and the persons on board were forbidden to land until the next day. I persuaded the captain, however, to go on shore with me at night, that I might see my little orphan children. We rowed a small boat several miles to the shore. I hastened to my dwelling, but found it deserted. All was lone and dreary within its walls. I roused some of the neighbors, but they could tell me nothing about my children. I returned with the captain before day-light to the vessel, and the next day obtained legal permission to land. On further inquiry, I found that my little ones were scattered among my friends. But 'home with all its pleasures' was gone. The soul that once animated it had been called to the realms of eternal felicity, and I was left to mourn over the desolation that remained.

"I collected my children together, placed them with friends in whom I could confide, and renewed my vow to devote my energies to the cause of the slave, until the nation should be effectually roused in his behalf. I relinquished every prospect of the future enjoyment of an earthly home until the object should be accomplished."

There is no more pathetic incident in Lundy's career than this return to a broken home and no more noble passage in his writings than this prompt re-dedication of himself to the "unfinished work" which lay before him. It was fittingly said of him after his death that "having resolved twenty-three years before his decease to devote his energies to the relief of the suffering slave, and the oppressed man of color, he persevered to the end, undeterred by difficulties and undismayed by dangers, undiscouraged by disappointments and unsubdued by sacrifices. Alone, often on foot, he encountered fatigue, hunger and exposure, the frost and snows of winter, the rains and scorching sun of summer, the contagion of pestilence and the miasmatic effluvia of insalubrious regions — ever pressing onward towards the attainment of the great object to which he had dedicated his existence."

In 1828 Lundy journeyed to the middle and eastern states, lecturing and obtaining subscribers to his paper. The journey brought him into contact with a number of friends

of the cause, among them Lyman Beecher, in Boston. Lundy remarked to William Goodell that "Friend Lyman was very warm-hearted in the cause and encouraged him to do all he could to get up anti-slavery societies and flood the whole country with abolition tracts."

"We shall never forget the animated air with which Friend Lundy related to us the particulars of this interview," Goodell wrote, but Lundy says: "I found Wm. Goodell at Providence, Rhode Island, and endeavored to arouse him; but he was 'slow of speech' and my subject." Much more important was the meeting of Lundy with William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison was an interested listener in the room where Lundy pleaded his cause before eight Boston clergymen and gained their support. A second meeting with Garrison later in the year resulted in an invitation from Lundy to Garrison to associate himself with the *Genius*. This connection came about in the fall of 1829 but lasted only until March, 1830. Garrison's extreme statements had involved the paper in libel suits and it was felt best to sever the connection, which was done without feeling on either side.

At about the same time that Garrison joined with Lundy, the *Genius* added to its staff Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, who had already been a frequent contributor but who now became editor of the "Ladies Repository." Miss Chandler died in Lenawee County, Michigan, in 1834, and Lundy edited a volume of her poetry, contributing also the biographical sketch. Several of her poems first appeared in the *Genius*.

After the departure of Garrison, the *Genius* once again became a monthly but as a result of the bitterness of feeling in Baltimore, which actually brought a brief imprisonment for Lundy, the paper was removed to Washington and later to Philadelphia. At this time also began the series of lengthy journeys undertaken by Lundy in the hope of finding some land to which emancipated slaves might be sent and where they might lead a normal existence. These journeys led Lundy to Haiti for the second time in 1829, to Texas in 1831, to Upper Canada in 1832, to Texas again in 1833 and for a third visit in 1834. The journals of these Texan journeys were saved when Lundy lost all his other property in 1838 and some considerable portions of them were printed in the biography which was published in Philadelphia in 1847. The narrative of his journey to Upper Canada appeared in three successive issues of the *Genius* during 1832 and has been reprinted in the Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society.

Lundy was a keen observer and his journals are filled with the record of interesting personal experiences. His ability to get along with people of all social classes and all conditions of life is everywhere in evidence. On river steamers, on stage coaches, traveling afoot on lone roads, he is interested always in the people he meets and sets down in quaint fashion his observations. At Monclova he attended a bull fight and has left us a graphic account of the affair. While in the same place he looked in on the gambling houses. "A great throng was present," he wrote, "but it was exceedingly quiet — far more so, I think, than it would be in one of our cities if so much liquor was displayed." On another evening he attended a ball. "Nearly all the foreigners in the place were present," he noted. "The waltz seemed to be the favorite dance. Some of the company were not entirely white. Among them were a portion of very polite people. Some young men who were very good dancers came in their working dresses. It looked strange to see a person with the complexion of an Indian, wearing a hat but no coat or vest, and dancing with a beautiful white young lady who was dressed in the richest silk."

During his journey to Texas in 1833 he encountered numerous cases of cholera to some of which he was able to minister, having brought with him the formula of a remedy which seems to have been beneficial in many cases. In his journal for August 1, 1833, he tells of being overtaken by a man on horseback who had heard of this remedy and who implored him to attend his wife who had been stricken. "I complied with his request," says the journal, "and found the woman delirious, with cramps. I gave her camphor and laudanum, applied a mustard plaster, wrote directions and left some medicine. The husband offered me payment, which I declined; he then insisted on my

taking some coffee, which I accepted." On a Mississippi River steamer he encountered the same sickness and nursed a number of the stricken. Of the disease he wrote: "The cholera is an extraordinary disorder. It attacks with the ferocity of a tiger, keeps its hold like a bull-dog, and as soon as it is conquered returns to the fray."

In his journeys he was often without shelter at the end of the day. "When night came," he wrote on one occasion, "I laid down on the grass by the road-side, my knapsack serving for a pillow, and my small thin cloak for sheets and counterpane, while my hat, my staff, and my pistol smartly charged, lay at arm's length from my person. Thus, under the broad canopy of heaven, with its countless stars and distilling dews, I reposed till after midnight." By day his journey often brought him into strange company. Encountering a group of Indians he was invited by their leader to the camp where they were dressing a fine deer that they had killed. "I went with him," says Lundy, "and spent several hours of the hottest part of the day with the Indians. There, the pleasant breeze, together with Mexican sociability and Indian hospitality, rendered me exceedingly comfortable. About noon one of the men presented me with a piece of venison elegantly roasted. In return for the kindness of my Indian friends, I gave them, out of my small stock of provisions, a little fried bacon and corn bread — articles of which they were entirely destitute, and which appeared to be as great luxuries to them, as their venison was to me."

Typical of the hardships which Lundy endured on his journeys to the south are the experiences described in a letter sent from Texas in September, 1833, and appearing in the *Genius* in October of that year. He writes from St. Antonio de Bexar where he had arrived after travelling through a cholera-stricken country where many people were dying. "I travelled on foot and alone," he writes, "often from ten to twenty-five miles without seeing a house, partly under the rays of a burning sun, and partly through drenching rains, with a knapsack weighing from 20 to 25 pounds, and the cholera frequently compelled me to stop for a day or two in order to recruit my exhausted energies, worn by excessive fatigue and the wasting effects of cankering disease. Many a time, while in this condition, I have been necessitated to sleep on the wet ground, in the open air, with no bedding but my thin cloak. . . . Time and paper would fail me to give thee an adequate idea of the difficult and dangerous vicissitudes through which I have passed."

The trade which he had learned in youth at Wheeling proved of practical use on these southern journeys. Just as the Apostle Paul returned at times to his trade of tent-making, so did Lundy have recourse to his skill with leather when need for ready money arose. If possible he would get some saddlery to repair, but if this failed he would procure some leather and proceed to make belts, suspenders, bags, etc. until his immediate needs were met. At Bexar, he wrote: "I have now started a new line of business, viz., the making of shot bags from panther and deer skins. Anything for an honest living, and to keep my spirits from sinking while I am pent up here."

Despite the hardships and dangers of his journeys Lundy paused from time to time to enter in his journal a description of the natural beauty of the country through which he was passing. When he came first in sight of Bexar, he wrote: "There the beautiful valley of the San Antonio River presented itself to the view, and a most grand and delightful prospect lay stretched out to the west and northwest, a vast distance. The scene had the appearance of an immense amphitheatre, within which rose the town of Bexar, appearing to good advantage, though in general but humbly built. Throughout the vast expanse before me, the woodlands and prairies were alternated in regular strips or gradations, producing an effect alike surprising and delightful."

Much of his travels took him amidst large Roman Catholic populations. Though he was of another faith, his comments show utmost respect for the practices of others. At Bexar, on September 8, 1833, he writes in his journal: "Another Sabbath. This is the day set apart in the Christian calendar as the anniversary of the birth of the blessed Virgin Mary. The bells of the old church are pealing merrily, and rockets are flying

briskly. As high mass is to be performed, more eclat than usual is perhaps necessary, to draw the attention of the careless and merely formal professor to the high importance of the occasion."

Lundy's visit to Upper Canada (now Ontario) was made in January, 1832, in the very middle of a Canadian winter, but the difficulties of the journey are little mentioned in his narrative; rather does he emphasize his great satisfaction with the possibilities of the British province as a refuge for the freed Negro. His main purpose was to see for himself what was being accomplished at Wilberforce, midway between Niagara and Detroit, where about three years earlier a colony had been founded under the auspices of philanthropic Ohio Quakers. Throughout most of the Canadian journey of about 250 miles Lundy rode on top of the stage coach with the driver in order that he might see as much as possible of the area through which he was passing. His observations on the physical characteristics of the country are strikingly accurate.

To reach Wilberforce it was necessary to leave the stage at the village of London and walk about twenty miles to the north. In later issues of the *Genius* Lundy gave a lengthy description both of Wilberforce and of his journey in general. There were thirty-two families already on the land when he visited the Negro settlement, though many others had been there and gone elsewhere in the province. He found the refugees located on small cleared plots and owning some livestock. Mills were available nearby and schools and churches had already been provided. "The settlers generally are sober, industrious and thrifty," he wrote. "In their houses things mostly appear clean, neat and comfortable."

Lundy was deeply impressed with the possibility of establishing Negro colonies in Upper Canada, and Wilberforce seemed to him to be important in any such general plans. "The settlement at Wilberforce will be," he wrote, "by far the most important, as there are men of known intelligence and public spirit there who will give it a consequence that probably will not, at least very soon, be attached to the others. It will indeed, be viewed by the colored people as a nucleus for an extensive emigration from the northern and middle parts of the union, especially from Virginia and several contiguous states. Many will go there and obtain information that will induce them to settle in other places when the price of land shall rise and more new settlements be opened. They will thus scatter over the province, some one way and some another; but many will stop here, as at a central point, which first shall have attracted their attention, and where they will find intelligent friends and brethren."

Lundy's prediction was not fulfilled so far as Wilberforce was concerned, for it never grew much beyond what he himself saw in 1832; elsewhere, however, in the western section of the province, several successful colonies were established at a later date and furnished cities of refuge for the many Negroes who entered Upper Canada, particularly after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850. Lundy was the first to disseminate in the United States information concerning Upper Canada as a land where the black man might find freedom and that information must have led many to seek the northern land where slavery was unknown.

Lundy's journeys to Mexico, where he had hoped to find a home for the slave, were rendered fruitless by the revolution which made Texas first an independent republic and later a slave state. In the *Genius* of November, 1835, Lundy noticed the outbreak in Texas, expressing his conviction that slavery was at the back of the trouble and that independence was the goal of the American settlers in the Mexican state. At once he prepared three pamphlets dealing with the Texan question and also issued in pamphlet form a series of eight articles which he had contributed to the *National Gazette*. It was probably these publications which brought him into closer contact with John Quincy Adams whom he had already known for some years. In the summer of 1836 Lundy had established in Philadelphia a new anti-slavery paper, the *National Enquirer* and at the same time resumed monthly publication of the *Genius*. In the diary

of John Quincy Adams we have this interesting entry made at the time of Lundy's coming to Philadelphia:

"Benjamin Lundy came at six, and I walked with him to the house of his friend, James Mott, No. 136 North Ninth Street, where there was a large tea and evening party of men and women — all of the Society of Friends. I had free conversation with them till between ten and eleven o'clock upon slavery, the abolition of slavery and other topices, of all which the only exceptionable part was the undue proportion of talking assumed by me, and the indiscretion and vanity in which I indulged myself. . . . Benj. Lundy and another friend came home with me to Mr. Biddle's, and Lundy came in and conversed with me nearly another hour."

It is generally believed that Lundy supplied Adams with much of the data upon which the veteran statesman based his attacks upon the Texas movement. Wendell Phillips has said of this relationship between the two men: "Any one who will examine John Quincy Adams's speech on Texas in 1838 will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot prepared by Benjamin Lundy to one of whose pamphlets Dr. Channing has expressed his obligation. Everyone acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy, who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His labours have this attestation, that they quickened the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as Adams and Channing. I have been told that Mr. Lundy prepared a brief for Mr. Adams, and furnished him with the materials for his 'Speech on Texas'."

Lundy's connection with the *National Enquirer* terminated in the spring of 1838. His successor was John G. Whittier under whom the name of the publication was changed to the *Pennsylvania Freeman.* In announcing his retirement Lundy stated that it was his intention to remove to some western state where he would continue the publication of the *Genius.* The Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society in the same issue expressed their high regard for Lundy as "one of the earliest and most unflinching friends of the man of colour . . . . who has been largely instrumental in arousing an anti-slavery feeling in Pennsylvania and in promoting an effective organization."

Lundy's decision to remove to a western state was probably influenced in some degree by the fate which had overtaken Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of the *Alton Observer,* who had been murdered by an anti-slavery mob on the night of November 7, 1837. There was the further consideration that his children were already in the west. Lundy's arrival was a matter of great satisfaction to the anti-slavery men of Illinois who had been planning to continue the struggle in Alton by founding another newspaper. It was now determined to support Lundy in the publication of the *Genius.* It was hoped that his non-resistant Quaker views might be tolerated even in a community which had sunk so low in its intolerance as to descend to mob murder.

Lundy's "valedictory" on leaving Pennsylvania appeared in the *National Enquirer* of March 9, 1838. Reviewing his connection with that paper since its establishment in 1836, he says that he had not originally planned to continue it for more than six months, his aim being to expose what he regarded as a conspiracy of slaveholders and land speculators organized to wrest Texas from Mexico. In leaving the *Enquirer,* however, he was not quitting the cause, however great might seem the cost of the previous years of struggle: "I have sacrificed nineteen years incessant toil (in addition to several thousand dollars of the previous earning of my own hands) . . . . During more than half of this period my family has been scattered. . . . My health has been injured — even my constitution is somewhat impaired."

Less than two months after he had penned this message, and with the memory of the Lovejoy murder still fresh in the public mind, Lundy was himself the victim of a mob, and that in Philadelphia itself. In preparation for his journey to the west he had gathered his papers and possessions together and placed them temporarily in one

of the rooms of Pennsylvania Hall. There they were destroyed when the hall was burned by a mob on the night of May 17.

"Well!" he wrote, "my papers, books, clothes — everything of value (except my journal in Mexico etc.) are all, all gone — a total sacrifice on the altar of Universal Emancipation. They have not yet got my conscience, they have not taken my heart, and until they rob me of these, they cannot prevent me from pleading the cause of the suffering slave.

The tyrant may even hold the body bound —
But knows not what a range the spirit takes.

I am not disheartened, though everything of earthly value (in the shape of property) is lost. Let us persevere in the good cause. We shall assuredly triumph yet."

Such was the high crusading spirit of the man. Behind him at this time were family and home ties, his property destroyed at the hands of a mob, health impaired by the hardships which he had undergone, yet still cheerful, courageous, determined. On to Illinois.

Gamaliel Bailey wrote to James G. Birney from Cincinnati at the end of August to say that Lundy had just passed through. "He is bound for Illinois, as you know," Bailey wrote. "He intends to set up his paper there." En route to the west Lundy's letters reflected his improved health and spirits and he contrasted the freedom of the prairies with the crowded conditions of city life. A letter written from Putnam County on September 19 says. "I am here among my children at last — this is emphatically one of the best and most beautiful countries that I have ever seen. You shall hear from me ere long through the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*." A postscript added on the evening of the same day said: "Since writing the above I have attended the (anti-slavery) convention at Hennepin. It was a fine large meeting composed of intelligent men and women. It passed a unanimous resolution to encourage the circulation of the *Genius* and a large number of subscriptions was immediately obtained." Thus early was he again getting into action.

Twelve issues in all of the *Genius* were published in Illinois. Copies of all but the first of these may be found in the library of the Chicago Historical Society. Lundy, on his arrival in Illinois, had hoped to be able to purchase the press and type formerly used for the printing of the *Hennepin Journal*, but being disappointed in this he made Lowell his headquarters and printed his paper there, though it continued to carry a Hennepin date line. In a letter written in February, 1839, he says: "I have purchased a printing office and established it at a new town called Lowell; but we have no post-office here yet, and the G.U.E. will be published awhile at Hennepin. I have found great difficulty in getting my printing done, but am now prepared to go on regularly as soon as I receive paper, for which I have sent to St. Louis."

Lowell at that time was a small village and Lundy describes his printing office as located "on Centre Street, in the block south of Hancock Square." His establishment consisted of a one-room building of common planks set up edgeways in which he worked and lodged. His press has been described as an "old iron half pattern of Dr. Franklin's Ramage which had to be pulled twice to get an impression of one side of his little sheet." In the earlier issues he mentions his difficulties in securing paper and in getting help. The appearance of surviving copies tells a story of type battered and worn and of columns which had to be adapted to the size of the paper that was available. The arrival of a young printer from the east, Zebina Eastman by name, solved some of the problems, for Eastman was not only a practical workman but was able also to take over some of the duties of editor, thereby freeing his master for other anti-slavery activities. By June of 1839 Lundy was able to announce that he had procured new type. He had also purchased a farm near Lowell and in the July number of the *Genius* we find this quaint note:

"A little pressing business, out of the printing office, has again prevented the editor from devoting as much of his attention to the paper as he desired. Among other

matters, a small wheat harvest required his care. We are not about to say that all country editors should be farmers — but if some that we wot of would farm a little it might enable them to act more independently than they do."

In the same number of the *Genius* Lundy expressed his sorrow that failing health had required John G. Whittier to relinquish the editorship of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*: "We have felt the more anxious that the *Freeman* should continue under the charge of John G. Whittier, as the publication was commenced by us (under a different name) and placed in his hands, as one in whom we had full confidence on our retirement." He quotes, no doubt with some proper pride, the words of Whittier's farewell: "Let the banner which the veteran Lundy first flung out upon the breezes of Pennsylvania, and which for the last eighteen months we have endeavored to sustain and defend, amidst trial and peril, still afford a rallying point to the friends of freedom; and still offer a signal hope to the weary bondsmen in the cotton fields of the South."

There was but one more issue of the *Genius* to which the pen of Lundy may have contributed. It contains a brief note stating that the editor of the paper has, for several days, been unable to perform the duties of his office. His complaint, a light fever, has yielded, however, to the power of medicine and he confidently hopes to be "in his element" again very shortly. But that was not to be. In the next issue, bearing a date line of August 16, the announcement was made that Benjamin Lundy had died on the night of August 22. This was signed "The Printer."

The notice of Lundy's death, appearing in his own newspaper, was accompanied by a tribute to his memory so true as to fact and so fitting in its expression that it may well be made the concluding portion of this sketch:

"It has become our painful duty to announce to the friends of humanity, and to the patrons of this paper, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Benjamin Lundy, long the faithful and persevering editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* This distinguished philanthropist closed his earthly career on the night of the 22nd of August, from the prevailing disease of the country, the bilious fever. He had been unable to attend to the duties of the office for two or three weeks previous, but no alarming appearances were observed by his friends until the day before his death.

"Thus is the world called upon to lament the departure of one whose life has been devoted to benevolence and humanity — one whose strength has been exhausted, and who has literally worn himself out in the cause of the oppressed and enslaved of our land, which, for eighteen years, has been the sole and engrossing object of his pursuit, and for which he has toiled unremittingly and persevered with unwavering constancy to his end. Thousands of hearts which already beat with thankfulness for his sympathy will bleed with anguish for his departure — and unnumbered millions of disenthralled beings, in the course of time, will look back with joy to his earthly pilgrimage, and hail with blessings the name of the pioneer in the cause of their emancipation. . . .

"Honor to his name and labors, and rest to his departed spirit. When those who are now called great on earth — heroes whose course has been marked with blood and misery — shall perish from the memory of men and fade from the page of history, or be remembered in the lapse of time as the presiding spirits of the events of horror — then will his humble course of life be marked with beams of light imperishable — his unassuming spirit shall meet with its rich reward — and the fame of him who lived for others' good, whose glory was not in the battlefield, but whose empire was the human heart, shall be crowned with an unfading wreath by a world redeemed from bondage."

THE FOLLOWING pages comprise the last issue of the Genius of Universal Emancipation which was edited by Benjamin Lundy. On page 35 he speaks of his illness, which shortly terminated in his death. In the next issue bearing a date line of August 16, we find the notice of his death which occurred August 22.

This issue was kindly loaned to the Lundy committee by its owner, Mason Bullock of Tonica, Illinois.

GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.

EDITED AND PUBLISHED, WEEKLY, BY BENJAMIN LUNDY.—PRICE ONE DOLLAR AND FIFTY CENTS PER ANNUM, IN ADVANCE.

[illegible] entered [illegible] that no one [illegible] liberty, and the pursuit of happiness [illegible] Ind. Dec. U. S.

[illegible], SATURDAY, JULY 25, 1829. [Whole Number 313.

Anti-Slavery Review.

[illegible] JOHN Q. ADAMS [illegible]

[illegible] practice was set aside in Congress, refusing to receive or consider petitions, except a memorial sent by the British House of Commons, in the cases of the *stamp act* and *the tea tax*. The same arguments are now used by the advocates of intolerance in America, that the *tyrannical* ministry in England then held forth. "The inference from which," he says, "is irresistible, that in view of the slaveholders themselves, the principles of the Declaration of Independence are as fatal to the institution of slavery, as they were to the tyranny of Great Britain over the colonies."

He then shows how the Southern, slaveholding politicians manoeuvred, to obtain the complete ascendancy in the councils of the nation. The sacrifice of the "American System," he contends, "was strictly a bargain of slaveholders themselves, in which the industry and the interest of the free portion of the nation were neither consulted nor considered, but were bound hand and foot, and laid prostrate at the feet of the *peculiar institutions*." He proceeds:

"But the ambition of the South Carolina party was not yet satiated. The phantom of abolition was advancing upon them, and swelling to gigantic dimensions as she advanced. The people of Great Britain were piling petition upon petition to Parliament for the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies, and Parliament was gradually and reluctantly yielding to the irresistible flood of the tide. The sympathies of language, of sentiment, of opinion, and especially of freedom, were crossing the Atlantic with every breeze, and spreading over the congenial atmosphere of a soil whence they had been first exhaled. Slavery in the British Colonies was abolished by the reformed Parliament of a European Monarchy—abolished upon the very principles of our own Declaration of Independence—abolished, because irrefragable, irreconcilably contrary to the actual rights of mankind.

What could the slaveholder do with his own chalice returned to his own lips? He started back in horror from the draught, and turning round called with imploring voice upon Sepulveda, and Hobbes, and Sir Robert Filmer, and Dr. Johnson, and Somme Jenyns, for a doctrine of despotism—for a sneer upon the self-evident truth that all men are born free and equal—for a cavil upon the sacredness of human liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as among their unalienable rights—for a judicious distortion of the learned Doctor's parallel between free men and fat oxen—for a physiological treatise to prove "that the negro race, from their temperament and capacity, are peculiarly suited to be slaves, and to be the happiest of men in that condition;" for proofs from Holy Writ that negroes are of the accursed race of Ham, doomed to be slaves to the end of time; that Abraham had slaves, and that Joseph himself was a slave-holder under the old covenant, and Onesimus a slave under the new —just as Sepulveda conclusively argued against Las Casas, that the Spaniards had an unquestionable right to exterminate the Indians, because God commanded the children of Israel to exterminate the idolatrous nations of Canaan. All this, as Chancellor Harper candidly admits, is sufficiently common-place; but, says he, we are sometimes driven to common-places. Yes, from the Declaration of Independence, you cannot start one step without being driven to common-place; to the common-place of immemorial tyranny; to the common-place divine right of kings; to the common-place logic and morality of the Jesuits; to the common-place thumbscrews and faggot-fires of the holy inquisition. To all this common-place *must* be driven whoever undertakes to justify the institution of slavery by decrying the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

But how far has this counter-revolutionary principle of the South extended—how far is it extending? My countrymen! I wish not to alarm your fears for the continuance of the Union; but you must look at things as they are. I have said that the renunciation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence is a virtual withdrawal from the Union. There can at least be no possible attachment to the union entertained by those who have renounced the only principle—no community of feeling with those who retain and adhere to them. The two sets of principles separate the souls of men wider than the distance of the poles from each other.

I think there can be no question that the servile train of principles (by which I understand the doctrines urged by President Dew and Chancellor Harper in opposition to the system of principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence,) pervades the whole State of South Carolina, and forms the basis of the system of policy pursued and recommended by the leading men of that State. At the head of them is Mr. John C. Calhoun, with his sanguine temperament, his dashing eloquence, his never-doubting confidence in himself, his superficial acquaintance with human nature, and his no acquaintance with human history; with his never-hesitating versatility of conduct, and his judiciously sincere claims to consistency; with the memory of his premature advancement in early youth—of his grasping ambition—of his blasted hopes and his mortifying disappointments. This is precisely the man to acquire, under the effervescence of a Southern sun, that ascendency over the intellect of his contemporaries which confers a Pythagorean authority over his disciples, and settles every question among them by the simple formula of *He said it*." And such an ascendency he has acquired, with the exception of a few intelligent men, unable to keep pace with him in the suddenness and rapidity of his political pirouettes, but who cannot sustain themselves long in opposition to any of his circumvolutions.

[illegible] upon [illegible] cent.

The following are his remarks on the admission of Florida, as a slave State, into the Union:—

My objections to the immediate abolition of slavery in the Territory of Florida are the same with those which I have here set forth against the same measure in the District of Columbia, with the addition that the conditions upon which the Territory was ceded to the United States by Spain mutually stipulate for its admission into the Union on the same terms as are secured to the primitive citizens of the United States. To impose a new condition now upon the inhabitants, as a *sine qua non*, of admission to the Union as a State, would be, in my judgment, a breach of faith. I voted against the admission of the State of Arkansas, because her Constitution expressly denied to her Legislature the power of emancipating slaves. Should the Constitution of Florida contain the same provision, I should vote in the same manner; but the faith of the nation is already pledged to the admission of Florida on the same terms upon which other Southern States have been admitted; and we have no right now to require more of her than has been required of them.

[illegible] the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of which shall tolerate slavery, were not susceptible of an affirmative answer. A negative resolution to that effect could have no binding force, from either or both Houses of Congress; for they cannot circumscribe the powers of their successors. But, with the exception of Florida, I never would consent to the admission of any new slave State.

Having "fully and freely exposed" his views with regard to the multitude of petitions, &c. contained to his care, he winds up by reiterating his utter abhorrence of the slave system, and his anxious desire for its extinction, as follows:—

This system bears the same relation to that of the Declaration of Independence as idol worship to the worship of the true God. The substituted of its creed for that of the natural rights of mankind, will bring him back to the alternative of the worship of Moloch and Mammon,

"And devils to adore for deities."

Should this system become the prevailing doctrine of the South, it is impossible that this Union could long continue. As its avowed basis is definitely upon physical force, to physical force will resort, not only to sustain its own usurpations, but to succeed upon the earthquakes of freedom elsewhere. This disposition is already manifested in many ways: in the brutal treatment experienced by citizens of the free States, if but suspected of favorable views in the slaveholding jurisdictions—in the insolent demands upon the free States to deliver up their citizens for alleged offences against the slave laws—in the conspiring of American slaveholders in a foreign land against the life of one of the great champions of human liberty—in the ruffian threat of assassination, addressed to members of Congress for daring to present your petitions—in the surrender of the post office to lynching law—in the murder of Lovejoy—in the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall—in Southern newspaper and conventions to force the natural channels of trade from North to South—in Southern railways and banking companies combined to link the Mammon of the West with the Moloch of the South, and in the strains of commendation upon the hard-working practices of the Anglo Saxons, and their virtuous abhorrence of gastonhouses, embellished by their black-leg reverence and punctuality for their debts of honor.

Fellow citizens, when I witness scenes like these transacted in the face of day; when I hear principles like these issuing from the professor's [illegible] the chancellor's bench, from the diplomatist's saloon, and from the land-jobber's gaming and dinner table, all in frightful harmony with one another, I hang my head in despondency at prospects of the rights of man, for the short remnant of my days throughout the Union, and even in the District of Columbia. Yet do I not despair for the cause of human freedom. I believe the cause which its votaries are now called to defend, and which they may yet have to defend and do vindicate, is that of our free institutions against the daring encroachments of slavery upon them. It is for them that you will have ultimately to stand to your arms; and it is for them that I would gladly now see you buckle on your armor. I desire not to interfere with the institutions of slavery where they are established—I would not abolish slavery without a due regard to indemnify the slave-holder for his loss, and, to avoid the necessity for that, would begin the process with a generation yet unborn. I adhere faithfully to the stipulations of the Constitution of the United States, which I have pledged my faith before God to support; and I can lend my hand to no project for the abolition of slavery in these United States without the consent of their masters.

That day will come when slavery shall be extinguished not only in the District of Columbia, but throughout our country, and throughout the world. I believe, because it has been explicitly promised in the holy Scriptures, and because the progress towards that improvement in the condition of man upon earth is clearly indicated by the whole tenor of human history. But that the day is yet *far* distant I am not permitted to doubt; and that in our own country it will be preceded by convulsions and revolutions in the moral, political, and physical world, from which I turn away my eyes to more cheering contemplations, appears to be too probable. That you may enjoy in peace all the rights that you possess, and be speedily restored to those of which you have recently been deprived, is the hope and prayer, and shall continue to be the earnest endeavor of your friend and fellow citizen,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Correspondence.

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

THE CRUELTY OF SLAVERY.

Friend Lundy:—I thank you for the pieces you have published in the Genius of Universal Emancipation, through the columns of your paper, to the cause of the oppressed—those trodden down fellow beings who are held in worse than Egyptian bondage in that land, in every other respect so dear to my heart, the birth place of our immortal Washington, Henry, Jefferson, and many other friends of liberty, as well as in other parts of the South where slavery is sustained as one of our *"unalienable rights."* I shall confine myself so far as my own knowledge is concerned to Virginia—yes, my own dear Virginia, which, but for slavery, is to me the fairest portion of the globe—as I know but little from personal observation of any other Southern State, although I feel disposed (from the knowledge I possess) to give full credit to every tale of horror which I have heard from them.

It is generally contended by the advocates of slavery, and indeed by many who profess to oppose it, that the colored race are devoid of those finer and acute sensibilities peculiar to human nature, and that their natural affections are not [illegible] contended that their minds are differently organized from those of other men—that they are not susceptible of mental cultivation;—therefore they do not hesitate to prohibit them from receiving instruction of any kind, calculated to elevate the mind or purify the heart; and what is still more cruel, they can, without remorse, sever the most tender ties, and quiet their consciences by the assertion that "negroes have not the same feelings of affection with the whites." Both these opinions are altogether incorrect. I have seen the heart stricken wife weighed down with grief, and almost sinking from anguish of soul, when her husband has been torn from her and sold, perhaps to replenish the pocket of his master. I have also seen the mother separated from her infant, the young child from its mother, the brother from the sister, or the sister from the brother; and in every case have I witnessed the most poignant and lasting grief, which not even the fear of the lash could control. Their desire to obtain a knowledge of letters is remarkable; and the facility with which they acquire that knowledge, when permitted to receive instruction, is sufficient to convince the most sceptical that their natural capacities are not at all inferior to those blessed with a fairer complexion. In Virginia, slaveholders or their overseers are not, as a general thing, in the habit of cruelly abusing their slaves, but there are some *masters* even there who do it, and are, from a perverted policy, sustained by public opinion as well as by the laws; though I rejoice to say that such cases are not so frequent latterly, as they were in years gone by. With the treatment of field hands I am not so familiar; but I know that house servants are in some families treated with great cruelty, and in all with great injustice. They are subject to the whims and caprices of the youngest child about the house; and often have I seen the aged servant, male and female, severely chastised by the young tyrant, whom, in infancy, they have carried on their bosoms, and dandled on their knees. They are much neglected in sickness, often being permitted to languish and die with no one to care for them, or even administer to them a cup of cold water. I will mention one case which occurred in a family of high standing in society, as well as in the church, and who were considered most indulgent toward their slaves. An old man, of 50, who had been a most faithful servant, and a great favorite of his deceased master, became enfeebled by hard service, and was evidently sinking gradually to the grave. He endeavored to keep about and to render himself useful, knowing and dreading the sufferings he must endure when he became disabled. At length however he was compelled to lay by, human nature could endure no longer. His disease was consumption. He languished for some months, in a damp cellar kitchen; his bed consisting of a few boards, laid slanting on a box, with some rags spread over them, and a pillow of the same article. His mistress was considered a really humane woman, but had been so long accustomed to think of the poor negro as a different and inferior order of being, that she did not realize the extreme suffering of the old man, or her own guilt in permitting it. She would send him a little tea and a piece of wheat bread morning and evening, as a great dainty, and occasionally enquire how he was; but she never went near him to administer comfort either to his mind or body. (The ladies at the South seldom go into their kitchens.) A few days before his death, it happened that I, with my family, made a visit in this house to attend a protracted meeting. As soon as the old man heard I was there, he requested to see me. I went; but such a spectacle I had not beheld for years, and trust I shall never behold again. He

was covered with flies, and all that was loathsome. It was truly a [illegible] As well as I could, I made my [illegible] notwithstanding the [illegible] I received from the family that I was raising [illegible] But the Lord was about to relieve me, and make him free indeed. On the Sabbath morning following, the family, consisting of the old man, were preparing for the sanctuary, when they expected to commemorate the dying love of our common Lord and Master. I said to the mistress and mistress of the family, I did not think "Uncle Jim" [illegible] that one be retained, [illegible] that none of the family should remain at home with him. She replied, with that tone of his negro pride, he will not [illegible] At any rate we could not [illegible] I told her I did not [illegible] I must [illegible] According [illegible] into the house, and seating myself beside him, watched his last expiring breath. I asked him if he had a full view of the near approaches of death. "Yes," he said, he thought in a few minutes he should shake a full and free disentage, and look upon the Saviour in all his glory, throughout eternity." Much more conversation passed in the same strain, manifesting plainly to my mind that this old man, although he had been a stranger to slavery for forty years, possessed in an [illegible] degree those realities of mind, and feelings of the heart, which it has been endeavored to negro does not possess.

I have always been so long as that I fear, [illegible] I have [illegible] on your patience, as much as [illegible] your readers. I will [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE GENIUS OF
UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION.
Real Christian Revolutionary
HENNEPIN, FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1830.

EDITOR'S APPLOGIES.—The editor of this paper has been, for several days, quite unable to perform the duties of his office. His complaint (a light fever) has yielded, however, to the power of medicine, and he confidently hopes to be "in his element" again, very shortly.

We are thankful to our correspondents, for rushing on to lay some good or special matter before our readers, while we are not able to furnish them with any of our own.

The article on our first page, headed "The cruelty of Slavery," will be particularly interesting to our female readers. Let them bear in mind, it is a DAUGHTER OF THE SOUTH *that speaks*—and speaks whereof SHE KNOWS.

ANOTHER BEREAVEMENT.

It will be seen by the following notice, (which was very lately received,) that the widow of the lamented E. P. Lovejoy, has met with another afflictive dispensation, in the loss of her youngest child—(one that was born since the death of its father.) We hope she will be enabled, through the sustaining power of religion, and the kind condolence of friends, to bear up under these sorrowful visitations and repeated bereavements.—

DIED, on the 9th of July, inst. SARAH ELIZABETH, infant daughter of Celia F. Lovejoy, aged sixteen months. She has gone to meet her father in Heaven, whom she was not permitted to see on earth.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE.

The substance of an Address, delivered by Elder Thomas Powell, before the La Salle County Anti-Slavery Society, &c.

MR. PRESIDENT:—The American slave system in whatever light it is regarded, is "evil, only evil, and that continually." We might illustrate its cruelty and criminality by appalling tales of woe, furnished in the history of the innocent and oppressed slaves; but it is not our design, in these remarks, to dwell on cases of individual suffering, but to advert briefly to the common, plain, and well known evils of the system itself.

Slavery contradicts the sentiments expressed in our national Declaration of Independence,—"*All men* (upon this instrument) "are born equal and possess certain inalienable rights, among which are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness?" Are not the colored population of the States men? Do they enjoy liberty and the pursuit of happiness? How is it? Nearly three millions of men in the United States are slaves—are claimed as property—are bought and sold, and transferred from place to place, as the live stock of their proprietor. These slaves have no choice of employment—no recompense or reward for their labor; they have no permanent home—no family endearments—no secure protection in law. Instead of these, the poor slave is only fed enough to qualify him for labor. His just earnings are thrown into the hand of his oppressor. He may be hurried away in a moment from the scenes and endearments of his birthplace, and called to separate forever from all who have ever been dear to his heart. The claims of relationship and affection are unheeded; all the ties of sympathy and sensibility are sundered. Tears, and groans, and prayers, and remonstrances, are all in vain. In the hand of the oppressor is the scourge to silence every complaint, and to gratify his pleasure is the law of the land framed.

Slavery denies the law of God in relation to marriage.—Slaves are regarded as being incapable of any voluntary contract. The laws know nothing of marriage between them. The poor slave may choose a companion, or associate with one chosen for him; but in either case he has no warrant or protection by law. The man may indulge in fornication, incest, or adultery, no law is violated in the slave State. The man has no responsibility, the woman no chastity,—and thus one-sixth part of our whole population are living and rearing families, without the power and privileges of legal marriage. Can we find room for astonishment, if the most alarming vices and crimes are fostered and promoted under such a system?

Slavery interferes with the duties and obligations of parents and their children.—The slave cannot protect or provide for his children. He is not allowed to secure their destiny—to choose for them *their employment*—to determine their *duty* and *select their sphere of action*. He is not permitted to devote his time and talents in rearing "them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." He has no authority to command his household. He cannot say with Joshua, "as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." The slave holder may be, in profession and practice, hostile to every holy duty and requirement, and he may teach the child to regard him as superior to "father and mother" in authority—he may tear him away from parental counsel and affection—he may barter him away to strangers for gold—he may hurl him into new scenes of temptation and sin, where the eye and heart [illegible]

[illegible] slavery [illegible] the slave holders [illegible] their slaves; when no command is all to read the scriptures, they render it a crime to teach or assist them to do it. They forbid slaves from meeting, from reading, from exhorting, from [illegible] Jesus as the only government over [illegible] to be unmanageable, and they [illegible] punishments. Laws and penalties stand in the way of the [illegible] person who may wish to instruct and enlighten slaves, and between [illegible] ats are the attained against the [illegible] and presume to examine [illegible] and [illegible]. The slave cannot read the scriptures, keep the Sabbath, make a profession of religion, engage in the Christian ministry, or discharge any duty laid down in the word of God, if his master be opposed to them or them. His master's will is held superior to the authority of Christ, and to please his unbelieving master, and escape his unbridled wrath, the slave must disobey his Lord and Redeemer.

Slavery withholds information from its victims, and keeps them in ignorance.—The slaves are forbidden access to means of being instructed respecting their own mental and moral endowments. They are not informed that the mind is susceptible of enlargement and progressive cultivation to an almost infinite degree. They are not enlightened with regard to their true relation to each other and to God. They are left to infer that color, rather than moral character, is that which constitutes worth and importance. The colored man is taught to regard it a crime for him to think, read, examine, and talk, respecting his own individual rights and privileges. He is instructed to consider it his place to be ignorant and submissive, like the brute, and thankful that like it he has daily provisions made to sustain his life. It is impossible that information of a religious character can be given where the right of private judgment is denied, the power of reading and investigation withheld, and the exercise of a free unbiassed choice not possessed. How can the benighted slave distrust his fellow man, appeal to the law and the testimony, decide between duty he owes to man and to his Creator, and act as a voluntary moral agent, when light and freedom and motives which are essential to moral agency are all denied to him, and the [illegible] right and obligation treated as criminal? The laws and policy pursued in the slave States regard the reign of ignorance to be indispensable in the system of slavery.

Such are some of the features of slavery in the United States, and if we mistake not, it exceeds in terrors the system of slavery maintained in all other nations, ancient and modern. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, their slaves enjoyed privileges which are here denied. In Mahometan countries, by professing the religion of his master, the Christian may be emancipated.—Slavery in the British possessions allowed the slave some *time*, some property, and placed no insuperable barrier in the way of his purchasing his freedom. But this last, as the climax of injustice and cruelty, is a part of the American system, that no slave can be emancipated without undergoing perpetual exile from the land which gave him birth.

Now under such a system—although many masters may be humane and mild, and not use the power they possess to distress their helpless victims, (and no doubt there are many of this description)—yet how much individual wrong may be endured. Oh! could we see the distress which slaves experience from the savage tempers and unreasonable severity of their task-masters, from excessive labor, from being poorly clad and housed, and from being scantily fed—did we witness the pangs of mind by being separated from beloved relatives, and early friends, and driven long journies to distant owners and plantations—or the agony of delicacy and modesty violated by brutal lusts—or the unfeeling cruelty and pain which corrode the breast of the helpless, from interrupting new miseries, in new forms, to arise from the cruelty or cruelties of an unfeeling tyrant—then should we comprehend the dreadful horrors of the dark system and sin of slavery. Could we encompass conditions with the place, and as far as possible, that they are experienced, what new thoughts and feelings would rush upon us! Should any one be seen no more of earth; to have no home, no property, no social comfort than a poor [illegible] and tyrannical master may [illegible] and [illegible] and to pine away in ignorance and perish and degradation until [illegible]. Oh! Christian father and Christian mother! how would you gaze and feel the iron enter your soul. It is impossible, beyond the power of human conception to calculate the amount of crime and the amount of suffering daily and hourly produced by this awful system; and its extent and consequences will never be fully known until the disclosures of the judgment day occur.

In whatever light it may view slavery, it cer- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Literary Port-Folio.

[A friend lately handed us the following, with a request that it should be inserted in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. We are not aware that any personal application is intended, —but have omitted a few lines, which seemed liable to misapprehension.—Editor.]

For the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

Mr. [illegible] guilt of [illegible] Quiet [illegible] presence, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

TESTIMONIALS

John Greenleaf Whittier

It was his lot to struggle, for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilderness; poor, unaided, yet never despairing, traversing the island of Haiti, wasting with disease in New Orleans, hunted by Texas banditti, wandering on foot among the mountains of East Tennessee and along the Ozark Hills, beaten down and trampled on by Baltimore slave dealers; yet, amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves and the protection of the free people of colour.

William Lloyd Garrison

I trust that the memory and labors of Benjamin Lundy will be especially remembered and honored. To him I owe my connection with the cause of emancipation, as he was the first to call my attention to it, and by his pressing invitation to me to join him at printing and editing the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" at Baltimore. He shaped my destiny for the remainder of my life.

Jesse W. Fell

Illinois State Normal University,
in a letter to Abraham Lincoln

A man deservedly celebrated as being the first in the Union to establish a distinctly anti-slavery paper. Being at the time of the existence of that paper one of its patrons, I can bear testimony to its truthfulness, ability, and moderation; for in spite of the clamor to the contrary, the latter characteristic was eminently proper.

Oswald Garrison Villard

Grandson of William Lloyd Garrison
Editor Emeritus of "The Nation"

"I heard the wail of the captive; I felt his pang of distress; and the iron entered my soul." Thus Benjamin Lundy explained how it was that he became the first American Abolitionist to give his whole life to the emancipation of the slave, and the second American to found a journal devoted solely to that object. For that cause he sacrificed his means, separated himself from his family and gave up all prospect of a quiet, happy, well-ordered, prosperous existence. With complete courage he entered the South itself and there he preached at the risk of his life his doctrine of freedom for all. Nor snow nor cold could deter him, nor the greatest heat of a Mexican summer. Often he slept, penniless upon the bare ground, "my knapsack," he wrote, "serving me for a pillow, and my small thin cloak for sheets and counterpane." "The very idea even of sleep," he added, "almost forsook me," because of the apprehension of visits from "ferocious enemies such as panthers, alligators, rattlesnakes, and the pains of fatigue." Neither cholera epidemics nor hostile Indians daunted him.

Three times he entered Mexico determined to obtain a great grant of land in what was then the Mexican State of Texas upon which to settle freed Negroes. Hundreds of miles he covered on foot, often earning his way by working at his trade of saddlery. A walk of seven hundred miles was nothing to him, not even in the dead of winter; between May 1 and October 8, 1828, to win new subscribers to his journal called the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" he footed it from Baltimore to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and then most of the way back via Springfield, Buffalo, Utica and Poughkeepsie.

It was on this trip that he made his most important convert, William Lloyd Garrison. Lundy breathed into Garrison's young soul his own burning indignation, his own intrepid, unconquerable and uncompromising determination, so that after a time they became joint editors of the "Genius" until Garrison's fiery words in that paper landed him in Baltimore jail and led him to go his own way on his release, to found the "Liberator," and to voice without compromise his demand for immediate and universal emancipation. Whatever Mr. Garrison's place in history, he never, as he would be the first to say, surpassed Benjamin Lundy in unselfish and heroic devotion to a cause in which Lundy must ever rank as the pioneer in lifelong devotion, and second to none in his fearlessness and his never-ending readiness to be penniless and naked on behalf of the black man in bondage.

Charles H. Wesley
Dean of Howard University
Washington, D. C.

He is very greatly revered by the Negro people of the United States who see in him a great precursor of their freedom. He was, in a real sense, the forerunner of the abolition movement of the thirties and it was he who urged William Lloyd Garrison to enter the fight for freedom. *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* upon which he and Garrison worked, was the pioneer newspaper in the movement for emancipation. Lundy seemed to realize that in fighting for the freedom of the slaves he was also fighting for the freedom of his own country, for the nation was in bondage to a system and needed to be awakened to this realization. Lundy stands pre-eminently among those figures who blazed the trail to free the nation and a minority people from forced labor.

Charles A. Beard
Historian and Author

The invincible verdict of history has been pronounced in favor of the work begun and carried on by Benjamin Lundy. Sanction greater than this is vouchsafed unto no man or woman.

Thomas E. Drake
Curator of Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

I feel that Benjamin Lundy is one of the most important figures in the long struggle against the iniquity of human slavery. His importance, it seems to me, lies rather in the indirect influence he had in the slavery struggle rather than the direct. His life would appear to some to have been a series of rebuffs and failures, but his influence through Garrison, Whittier and many others of his converts to the cause was extraordinarily wide.

It is important also to remember that Benjamin Lundy's testimony was a peaceful testimony, one which was truly in keeping with the highest principles of the Society of Friends. Some of his converts strayed from the peaceful way, and helped to bring on the violent denouement of civil war, but Benjamin Lundy always strove to find a peaceful solution to the slavery question. Although he unhesitatingly condemned slavery, he was always able to distinguish between the sin and the sinner, and his treatment of slaveholders was such as to encourage their cooperation rather than their violent opposition to a program of emancipation.

Macy, The Anti-Slavery Crusade

Here was a man, without education, without wealth . . . . . who had undertaken, single-handed and without the shadow of a doubt of his ultimate success to abolish American slavery.

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

BENJAMIN LUNDY (1789-1839)

Benjamin Lundy, a native of the State of New Jersey but a resident of many states during his lifetime, has been characterized by historians as "the pioneer abolitionist"[1], the "originator"[2] of the abolition movement, the "most interesting figure in this movement"[3], one of the "most prominent"[4] of the abolitionists, "the most important and tireless of the early nineteenth century abolitionists"[5], "chief"[6] of the agitators and spokesman "for the Germans and Scotch-Irish element"[7] in their opposition to slavery. His "was a brave and earnest voice."[8] "To Benjamin Lundy chiefly belongs the honor of keeping the flame of the Anti-Slavery sentiment from utterly dying out in those dark days."[9] He "counted no labor or sacrifice on his part too great to be endured in efforts for" the suppression of slavery.[10] "No Apostle of the Christian faith ever exhibited a more ardent and unselfish devotion to his work than that which characterized the Anti-Slavery labors of this devoted but simple-minded Quaker."[11]

1 Barnes, Gilbert Hobbs. *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844.* New York. D. Appleton Company, Inc. 1933. pp. 26, 41.

2 Hart, A. B. (Editor). *The American Nation: A History.* New York. Harper and Brothers, Publishers. 1906. Vol. 16, Slavery and Abolition, 1831-1841, by A. B. Hart. p. 180.

3 Ibid., p. 158.

4 Woodson, Carter G. *Negro Makers of History.* Washington, D. C. The Associated Publishers, Inc. 1928. p. 205.

5 Bancroft, Frederic. *Slave-Trading in the Old South.* Baltimore. J. H. Furst Company, 1931. p. 41.

6 Hart, Op. Cit., p. 173.

7 Woodson, Carter G. *The Story of the Negro Retold.* Washington, D. C. The Associated Publishers, Inc. 1935. pp. 92-93.

8 Johnson, Oliver. William Lloyd Garrison and His Times. (New, Revised and Enlarged Edition) Boston. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1881. p. 21.

9 Ibid., p. 22.

10 Ibid., p. 27.

11 Ibid., p. 27.

Lundy organized many anti-slavery societies, some of which were in Southern States. He was the founder of "The Union Humane Society" which "advocated the removal of the Negro beyond the pale of the white man."[12] He was also the founder of an abolition paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* which was very influential.[13] "To him must always be ascribed the credit of being the first abolition journalist and the first link in a chain of impulses to which nearly all the other abolitionists traced their beginnings."[14]

Among his other activities, Lundy planned "a Negro colony in Texas", and transported "a small number of Negroes to Haiti, who founded an unsuccessful colony."[15]

He was an adviser to John Quincy Adams, member of Congress[16]; he encouraged Lyman Beecher, and urged him "to do all he could to set up Anti-Slavery Societies and flood the whole country with abolition tracts".[17] In his travels, he met and "encouraged young Garrison"[18], who later said of him, "His heart is of gigantic size"[19].

12 Woodson, Carter G. Negro Makers of History. p. 140.

13 Hart, Op. Cit., p. 159.

14 Ibid., p. 180.

15 Ibid., p. 238.

16 Barnes, Op. Cit., p. 128.

17 Ibid., p. 42.

18 Ibid., p. 42.

19 Hart, Op. Cit., p. 159.

A LETTER FROM LUNDY TO TWO OF HIS CHILDREN

The following extracts of a letter written by Lundy from the house of his father at Ancocus, N. J., in March 1836, to his children residing in Illinois, may serve to illustrate his peculiar views and character.

Since I last wrote you, my time has been so incessantly occupied with matters of business, and in corresponding with persons who wish information concerning my colony, that I have not until now found leisure to commune with you as freely as I intended to do. And even at present, I must be brief — as I have much to attend to of a public nature, connected with the great cause of suffering humanity — which I desire you, my dear son and daughter, also to bear in mind, as long as your Heavenly Father permits you to exist in this world.

I need not repeat to you what I have endeavored to make you fully acquainted with before: that I do sincerely regret our long separation. You are dear to me — often do I think of you — fervently do I pray the Father of mercies to preserve you from the dangers of vice, the temptation of the world, the snare of the wicked. But everything depends on your own conduct. He will so preserve you, if you are obedient to his holy requirings. He has given you faculties and powers of mind, to enable you to resist the allurements of vice; but if you do not exercise those faculties, and exert those powers, he will leave you a prey to the corrupting passions and propensities, and the strong temptations of a sinful world. You are now both of a suitable age to think and reflect for yourselves, and to judge of what is necessary to secure your own peace and happiness. — And yet you are at the precise time of life when temptation is the strongest — when the mind is most fickle — your hearts most susceptible of impression. In short, now is the day, my dearly beloved, in which you stand the most in need of the advice of the good, and the instruction of the experienced. Look around you and see who are they that live the most respectably — are spoken the best of by good men and women — who possess the most influence in preserving good order in society, both religious and moral — who, in fine, appear to be the most happy and useful members of the community at large. Endeavor to become acquainted with such as these — listen to their admonitions — imitate their conduct — (for you will be sure to imitate the conduct of some, as you are now mere learners — apprentices in the moral business of the world) and as you become experienced in life yourselves, though your judgment may direct you to pursue a course somewhat different from theirs, the example which you will have witnessed, and the information and instruction received, will be of great benefit to you. In matters of Religion, I would not wish to see you either rigidly sectarian, or inadvertent as to its sacred duties.

A religion which consists in mere profession, or formality of outward appearance and action, is nothing but mockery of God — while on the other hand, those who are careless and indifferent respecting the duties which they owe their Maker and Eternal Preserver, seldom enjoy peace in this life, the respect of mankind, or the anchor of hope for happiness here or hereafter. There is too much profession, and too little practice of religious duty, among the greater portion of men — too much ostentation and pride mingled with their public devotion. A regular attendance of religious meetings, is both profitable to ourselves and others, provided we turn our eye inward; direct our thoughts to God, and in truth and sincerity worship Him while there. I therefore enjoin it upon you my dear children, to attend your religious meetings as regularly as you can. But do not go there merely for the purpose of seeing others, or being seen yourselves. Go there "to worship your Father which is in Heaven." Let not the vanities and pleasures of juvenile amusements, nor yet the cares of worldly ambition or gain, influence or even occupy your minds beneath the roof of the solemn sanctuary. Be willing to listen to the admonitions of those who offer their advice upon such occasions. But

remember, listening to others, or imitating the conduct of others, is no part of the performance of duty. The worship of God consists in the humble contrition of heart — the turning our thoughts wholly unto Him — and waiting on Him with perfect willingness to be obedient to the manifestations of His will. And let me impress it upon your tender minds — never indeed forget this solemn injunction from your earthly parent who feels deeply concerned for your welfare, and loves you as he loves his own life: — Always think of your Heavenly Father with reverence. When you are assembled in the house of devotion — when you are engaged in the various occupations of life — when you are amidst the circles of social acquaintance — or in the lonely silent walks of meditation — whenever the idea of His existence occurs to your minds — Think of Him with reverence. This is the performance of religious duty. While we reverence our Maker, we love Him, and are willing to be obedient to all his requirings. We then feel our passions and vain desires subjected to the principle of virtue — we feel them restrained by the calming and softening influence of Heavenly Grace; and we wish well to all the creatures God hath made. This also leads us to reflect on our situation in life. We call to mind the duties we owe to each other, as members of the great human family: and as we manifest a willingness to act in obedience to the will of the Almighty, we shall "learn of Him," through his teachings in our own hearts, and through many other channels that, to secure happiness in this life, we must act justly towards each other. We must wrong none — deceive none — be kind to all — charitable to all — in short you must "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." This is not only the "golden rule," but it is one of the safest rules by which to regulate our conduct towards each other. Let these admonitions sink deep in your minds my beloved ones. Do not forget, nor disregard the advice of your absent Father. He loves you with all a parent's fervor. It is impossible that he should recommend to you, what his own experience tells him would not be for your own good. Be wise, my dear children, and lay the foundation for your future happiness before your passions become strong and lead you astray — before prejudice erects his empire in your hearts, and warps your judgment — before vice triumphs over you, and the punishment of evil doers awaits you, to destroy your temporal, and perhaps, eternal peace. The spring time of youth will soon be past. Beauty will fade, — and vivacity give place to the cares of life. All gaiety is transient tinsel. Trust not in the evanescent joys of youthful amusement. The time is not far distant when you must assume the direction of your own affairs altogether. You will then think of choosing more intimate and confidential companions for the rest of your lives. This will be to you a matter of extreme importance. Take the most guarded care, in this particular. Look not too much to worldly honor, on the one hand, nor be careless of genuine comfort and virtuous principle on the other. Study not to please others, so much as to deserve their esteem by doing well yourselves. Be genteel and polite in your manners, decent in your appearance; modest and liberal, yet unaffected and intelligent in your conversation. And if you study to improve your minds, acquire habits of industry and economy, and make yourselves happy and virtuous; you will thus command the notice and respect of others in a far greater degree than you ever will by any efforts or arts to enlist their esteem. I have now, my dears, written much more than I intended — yet I scarcely know how to stop. Dearly do I love you. Remember my words — bear in mind what I have told you before — and read these lines often. Not only read but often reflect upon what I have said to you; I speak in familiar terms the more readily to meet your youthful comprehension. Finally — so conduct yourselves, as to become useful members of society, ornaments to your country, benefactors of the human race, sincere followers of Christ, and acceptable servants of the Most High God.

From your ever affectionate Father,
BENJAMIN LUNDY

Elizabeth Shotwell Lundy.
Charles Tallmage Lundy.

PLEA FOR FIT MONUMENT TO MARK LUNDY'S GRAVE

From Chicago Tribune, September 8, 1911.

By VICTOR MURDOCK

(Representative in Congress from Kansas.)

"Tucked away in a corner in rural Illinois, I found the other day, Lundy's grave. The grave is out of Magnolia, say five miles. And Magnolia? Magnolia is out of Granville twelve, and Granville eight out of Hennepin. And there is no railroad to Hennepin, — a sleeping-princess sort of town that went nodding away almost a century ago, and is waiting still for some romantic locomotive to happen along and kiss it into wakefulness — and coal dust, commerce, motion-pictures, chewing-gum and crime. The old court house where Daniel Webster spoke when he came through is standing still, with a precious cluster of old and unviolated homes around it. Back in the country is the little Quaker cemetery, and in it is Lundy's grave.

"Hawthorne the Editor was the man to mention it. Ward the Banker was at the wheel, Hawthorne at his side, while Parret of the Bronze Button and I occupied the rear seat. It was late afternoon, Indian summer. Farms were asleep, the kine under opiates, the crickets protestingly treble in the hedges, the sparrows clamourous in convention, unexpectedly, in the treetops. Here and there, as the wheels of our car ate up the long winding ribbon of road before us, flashed glimpses of blue stretches of wooded valley below, sunshot; above us the sky with nothing in it but a rag of a cloud and a single idling hawk, motionless, stationary as though on exhibition, and in disdain of gasoline.

"On these Indian summer afternoons, in quiet rural spots, something out of the past reaches to us, — something druidical, something sacerdotal of the Silences — and it was fitting that at this moment some one should mention Lundy's grave.

"It was Hawthorne the Editor who spoke. There was a little pause after he had spoken, which indicated that on some prior occasion he had done so, in regard to Lundy, without success.

" 'Over in the graveyard yonder,' he said, 'is Lundy's grave.' It was not enough to awaken me at first. And then, magically, from somewhere out of my memory came leaping the identifying Christian name of the man, and I exclaimed — 'The grave of Benjamin Lundy!' I fancied Hawthorne was gratified that I knew of Benjamin Lundy. Ward the Banker brought the car to a trembling stop, and out we all clambered, down through a ravine, up a hillside, over a fence, and in among the sleeping dead.

"It had been years since Hawthorne had seen the headstone, but in a moment he had located it and was calling us. Parret of the Bronze Button stooped, tenderly removed a clinging vine which had crept over the gravestone, and then upon some other impulse, as tenderly replaced it. The old soldier arose and we all stood together before the little headstone in silence. I should say that any one of us, if there alone, would have taken off his hat. I am sure we all four of us thought of it, and put away the idea, guiltily, as though theatrical. I would have given something to have known what Parret of the Bronze Button, with the straightness of mien and straightforwardness of

eye that no old age can take away from any man who has ever been a good soldier, was thinking about. In the badge of patriotism he wore — a little bronze button — there was something more vitally a part of him and his life, than all the beliefs and memories of us younger men, Hawthorne the Editor, Ward the Banker and myself, could be to us. But I do not know of what my old soldier-friend was thinking. I can imagine that he cried within, 'The grave's neglected, the very name forgot, but the service this man rendered to his God is as enduring as this everlasting hill which holds him.'

"My thought of Lundy, at the moment, was pictorial; the picture of the primitive post town in Ohio, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee or Missouri, a dismal huddle of unpainted shacks and squat cabins in a clearing, and Lundy, the journeyman saddler, stopping before a door to mend a shoe or patch a strap, and inviting the population to his meeting in the barn-loft at night; the picture of a barn-loft at early candle-light, and a crowd of cold or critical or indifferent men, coaxed against their will to attend a meeting, there to behold a vagabond strike with his single, puny, smut-streaked fist against the iron, the cruel, the inseparable wall of slavery.

"Before Garrison, and Lovejoy, before Seward and Lincoln, Lundy took up the cudgel for liberty. He did not seek to identify himself with a principle through a political candidacy; he did not risk his cause to the cankering compromises that come with organization. He fought alone. In the wilderness he was a voice in the slow, patient process of making paths straight. Against the accusation of agitation, demagogue and madman, threatened, assaulted, once brutally by a slave-trader in Baltimore, always in peril, Lundy fought on. Traveling from place to place, mostly afoot, seeking no fame, asking no favor, aspiring to no eloquence save the rude speech by which he might burn into the hearts of men a consciousness of the curse of slavery. There came a day, in this matter, when partisans, took fire, and reached for one another's throats with thoughts from minds steeped in the fumes of hearts hot with hate. Not so Lundy. He was persuasive; and leaving behind him a trail of abolition newspapers and a little group of awakened citizens, he passed on, from town to town, aflame with the essential conviction of the true democrat, — the gentle, indomitable belief in the majority — of God and one — and at last he came here, to the little graveyard, obscure as his grave itself. He had no ambition, as we know the word. There was no white promise on his horizon; only the beckoning obscurity he set out from. This engulfed him finally, even to the memory of a nation which once knew him well.

"Ten years after Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, and made slavery profitable, Benjamin Lundy was preaching a doctrine which was to make it impossible. Thirteen years after they lowered his body here, Daniel Webster magnificently eloquent, wise beyond belief, stood in the Senate and resolved the difficulty by a compromise that compromised nothing. And twenty years after the world drove away from this mound and began to forget, Lincoln, with generations of sorrow shadowed in his eyes, was writing an Emancipation Proclamation for a race.

"It is something to be out on the frontier of things, alone, sensing, in the welter of affairs, before the world itself has had time to attend to it, the right from the wrong. And it is a lambent thing in the breast of a man which will send him forth to fire the hearts of his fellow-men against injustice, not for tomorrow's election or for next year's campaign, but for the day when the judgments of the Lord shall be proved righteous altogether and in His own good time.

"Perhaps it is fitting that the little headstone should sink away beneath the matted ivy — that the nation should forget — and still it seemed to me that some one with quick sympathy and apoplectic purse might go down Magnolia way, near Granville, which is hard by Hennepin, and put a monument there high enough to keep the name of him above the tangled vegetation, that the passing world, should it ever pass that way, might know that here lies Benjamin Lundy, and that he once lived."

The Centennial Memorial

AUGUST, 1939

"It was his lot to struggle, for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilderness; yet, amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves."

—Whittier.

This tribute from the friend and fellow-worker of Benjamin Lundy, John Greenleaf Whittier, was chosen by the Memorial Committee of the John Swaney High School, whose campus lies adjacent to the cemetery, and the Society of Friends of McNabb, many of whose forebears are buried there, as the inscription for the bronze tablet placed on his grave at the Centennial commemoration, August 1939.

Also it was through the efforts of this committee that this memorial booklet was assembled and printed as an additional memorial to its hero.

Centennial Commemoration Services held August 20, 1939 at the cemetery.

Members of the

LUNDY MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

of the Swaney Alumni and Society of Friends

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